The Reply

An Anti-Suffrage Magazine

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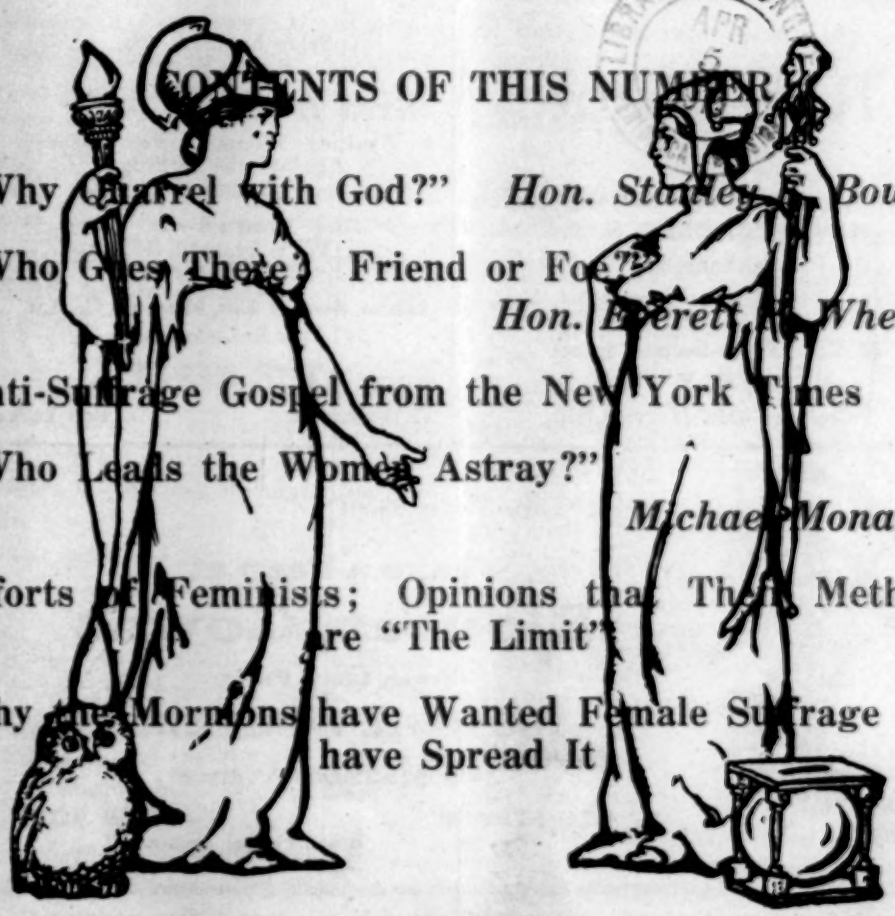

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The Reply

Edited and Published by Helen S. Harman-Brown

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The Reply is on sale at Brentano's, Fifth Avenue and Twenty-seventh Street, New York, and at Brentano's, Twelfth and F Streets, Washington

Editorial Notes

A visiting Englishman declares that he would be willing to enfranchise English women, but not many of the men in England are willing. They object because in England there are three women to every man. With the women having this preponderance of political power, the men are afraid that in some great national issue "the women, with their impressionability and emotionalism, might get us into war when we didn't want war."

Miss Blackwell seems to regard her readers as too ignorant to know that the reason why the total vote in California increased so noticeably was that the women voted for their own vineyards and their own wine.

It was a Nevada Legislature elected wholly by men that did away with the easy divorce laws of that state. They had made Reno a by-word among decent people throughout the country. Hardly had a legislature been elected when for the first time the members were responsible to women voters as well as men, before the easy divorce bill was passed, 43 to 10, and the event proved so exciting to the unshackled women and men of that fair commonwealth that at least an eighth of the population of the entire state went to town, by train or on their ponies, to see the fun and help to celebrate; which might not have been a gathering great in numbers, but many of them came a long, long way. The race-track bill also went through with a rush.

The easy divorce bill revives the old provision making only six months' residence in the state a necessary requirement to the obtaining of a divorce. Already the merchants of Reno are chuckling in anticipation of the flood of money that will pour into the city with the probable rush of men and women from all over the country. Reno is to be put back on the map; it is to be the "divorce headquarters" of the Nation again—and great will be the financial gain.

THE REPLY recognizes fully and wishes conspicuously to refer to the fact that since the result of the referendum in New York upon the subject of female suffrage will be decided by the men voters, the work that the Man Suffrage

Association Opposed to Political Suffrage for Women has before it to do and is determined to do is also of the utmost importance and deserves the support of every man who has the cause of the real women of the state at heart. The president of that organization is Hon. Everett P. Wheeler, and its office is at 27 William Street, New York City. Men like Hon. Charles S. Fairchild, Hon. Herbert L. Satterlee, Mr. John R. Dos Passos, Mr. George Douglas Miller, Mr. Gilbert M. Tucker, Mr. Francis Lynde Stetson, Prof. Munroe Smith, Mr. John C. Ten Eyck, Mr. Arthur G. Somers, Mr. Geo. W. Seligman, Mr. Walter C. Childs, Mr. Henry W. Hayden and Dr. Talcott Williams, direct its affairs.

The Man's Association invites the cooperation of men and women throughout New York State and in other states in prosecuting the good work. Literature intended to fortify the Anti-suffragists in their position, and equally to argue with the hesitating, will be furnished promptly on request.

The new suffragist lobby at Washington is to be expert as well as high paid, it seems. No statesman will be interviewed except by a person "who is now regarded as able to hold her own with any Constitutional lawyer."

The whole country breathed easier when it was flashed over the wires that Miss Kathryn Clark, the first woman senator in Oregon, was "stunningly gowned" when she took her seat.

It is announced that the woman suffrage leaders in the Bronx have decided to visit all the manufacturers in that flourishing borough to urge them to employ the unemployed. They have figured out that if every manufacturer would put on, say, two or three extra men, all would be well. They have evidently overlooked the fact, which Col. Easley of the National Civic Federation has so clearly pointed out, that practically all of the manufacturers of this Metropolitan district, and doubtless of other congested centers, have waiting lists either of applicants or of old employes laid off, numbering not two or three in the average case, but many more. It is by this peripatetic means, however, that the suffrage leaders prove that they are masters of economics and business as well as of politics.

Oregon, it seems, is a well-known state dominated by the imperturbable statesmanship of her good women, who first influenced their state senate to pass, by a vote of 24 to 6, a bill giving women the right to sit in juries, then causing the same senate to reconsider by a vote of 19 to 10. One powerful argument against the bill was that it involved the responsibility of jury duty for women voters without at the same time giving them an option never to serve unless they pleased.

It must prove highly diverting to the self-respecting men and women of Massachusetts to know that Rose Livingston, the "ex-white slave," is now employed by the suffragist agitators of the Old Bay State as a special agitator and that she declares Massachusetts to be the most "rotten" state in the Union.

At last we have the truth about the expenses involved in maintaining the suffragist lobby in Washington, or at all events the best estimate of the amount. Miss Alice Paul, executive chairman of

the Congressional Union, "the chief suffrage body in the fight," lets it be known that the union gathered a campaign fund of more than $53,000 to be used in pushing the amendment through the House. The last thousand was subscribed by Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont, who had been giving $1,000 a month to the cause for more than a year.

The Suffragists, as no reader of THE REPLY needs to be advised, are amply supplied with funds with which to prosecute their campaigns in New York State and elsewhere. Many rich women have given freely of their means to make it possible that the payroll or the payrolls should be met promptly. It appears, too, that considerable money has been raised, and doubtless will continue to be raised, for the suffrage cause by means of the persuasive solicitor. Being authorized by some more or less responsible suffrage committee to do it, he visits certain men or women supposed to be interested in "the cause" and to be rich and generous at the same time, to secure checks for $500 from each, if possible—more if possible, and less will do—of which, however, the artist in question gets at least 50 per cent; so that while the generous giver partly replenishes the suffrage war chest, he also lines the pocket of the solicitor; for which, possibly, he is not to be criticized, surely not in the opinion of the chairwoman of the campaign committee, who must believe that the laborer is worthy of his hire, especially if there is no other way to "get the money."

It will probably be found to be true, at the end of the present votes-for-women campaign in New York as well as at the present time, that the Anti-suffragists will not be able to raise anything like the sums which the Suffragists will enjoy the spending of. But, though the amounts may be smaller and the subscriptions fewer in number, it is more likely that all of the money will be devoted to the work.

A waiting world turns in the direction of Pikeville, Kentucky, to learn to what extent the newly enfranchised women of the state are bearing their new responsibilities meekly and with honor to themselves. According to a dispatch, printed even in one of the suffrage papers, nearly two hundred women were wondering if their names had been included in the list of those indicted by the grand jury for selling their votes at $1 apiece; it was even said that the women had been charged with selling their votes for less money than the men of the neighborhood had charged. A later dispatch indicated that in the early stages of the trial three particular members of the newly enfranchised sex were charged with having sold their votes when merely voting for a school trustee.

Another head-line in the ever-faithful *Tribune* announces that Suffragists are taught to low like cows and hum like bees. This may be true, but after the November election they will be making a noise like an Egyptian sarcophagus.

If this habit of having one-minute talks at the Suffrage Shop should become general enough, much might be forgiven!

It was rather mean of the Albany Antis to turn out four times as numerously as the suffragists could do on the occasion of the recent celebration of the

great suffrage victory in passing through the Legislature a resolution which both parties had pledged themselves to pass and which everybody wanted, in order that we might all have it out, one way or the other. The Suffs, it seems, got on the nerves of the Republican Senate leader, Mr. Brown. He had repeatedly told them that they could not depend upon him to time the passage of the resolution to suit their arrangements for a celebration in the Senate Chamber; he declared that they had "pestered" him a great deal, and he could not express his impatience at such methods.

The Republican leader of the Assembly, Hon. Harold J. Hinman, declared that he had "not yet been persuaded that it is a matter of individual justice or governmental right to grant the ballot to the feminists."

Another sad thing was the behavior of Hon. "Al" Smith, Democratic leader of the Assembly. He was walking in the lobby of the Capitol when he met Alberta Hill, the youthful lobbyist of the Women's Political Union, who was the only Suffragist present in the Senate when Senator Brown played "his little joke" of putting the suffrage bill through suddenly without notice to the women.

"The Senator might at least have allowed you women a laugh this afternoon," said Assemblyman Smith, "seeing you may have to cry next fall."

Section 1 of the Constitution of the State of New York, with the word "male" crossed out (as it would be proposed by the amendment to do) would read:

Section 1. Every citizen of the age of twenty-one years, who shall have been a citizen for ninety days, and an inhabitant of this State one year next preceding an election, and for the last four months a resident of the county and for the last thirty days a resident of the election district in which he or she may offer his or her vote, shall be entitled to vote at such election in the election district of which he or she shall at the time be a resident, and not elsewhere, for all officers that now or hereafter may be elective by the people, and upon all questions which may be submitted to the vote of the people.

Soon after the Congressional debate in which it was decided so decisively that the female suffrage amendment should not be referred to the people of the states, certain of the suffrage lobbyists—purely for publicity purposes, it may be—went to the Post Office Department to see if the "unexpurgated" speech of Hon. Stanley E. Bowdle, of one of the Cincinnati districts, could be circulated through the mails, the assumption being, evidently, that no matter in what form Mr. Bowdle's speech appeared in the Congressional Record the suffragist lobbyists would print it in some other form themselves to make a scandal. For this reason, as well as on account of the vigor and courage and truth of the address itself, THE REPLY prints numerous quotations from Congressman Bowdle's address in this issue.

THE REPLY is not subsidized, and it is independent of all affiliations of every kind which could swerve it in the slightest particular from its course of uncompromising opposition to votes for women or from its determination to enlist, so far as lies in its power, the assistance of all men and all women who for any reason or for no reason will join with it in propagating the true faith.

Ex-President Taft sees in the Japanese question in California the only real danger of war to this country. But the women of California vote, and can they not ward off this danger absolutely?

Who Goes There—Friend or Foe? Advance and Give the Countersign

By Everett P. Wheeler

One of the ablest writers for the extension of political suffrage to women is Thomas B. Reed. The suffragists are circulating his pamphlet. He admits at the outset that conservatism "is essential to the stability of mankind, of government and of social life. To every new proposal it rightfully calls a halt, demanding countersign, whether it be friend or foe." We ask this suffragist that comes so boldly on the stage, "Are you friend or foe? Advance and give the countersign."

He says "Suffrage is a right." This is his reply. Now we know that is not true. If it were, children would have a right to vote. Their civil rights are just as sacred as those of adults. But nobody pretends children should vote.

If suffrage were a right, every citizen could go to the polls and deposit his ballot. But he cannot do this, unless he lives in the electoral district, and is registered. If suffrage were a right, even of adult males, how could it thus be limited?

But we go farther. Resident aliens have civil rights. They cannot be deprived of life, liberty or property without due process of law. If suffrage be a right, how can we justify excluding them from the franchise?

Again, officers of the United States army and navy do not vote. What justice is there in this exclusion if suffrage be a right? In the District of Columbia nobody votes. Yet many think that is the best governed community in the country and settle there from choice. The Canal Zone at Panama is the most healthy district in America, and one of the best governed; nobody votes there.

We conclude that Mr. Reed's first countersign is false. We cannot admit this suffragist on that.

Failing in this, he tries another. "Our government is founded, not on the will of the wisest and best, but upon the will of all." The same facts which prove his first countersign false prove the falsity of this. The American government is not a town meeting. That is well when two or three hundred men can meet once a year and talk things over and then decide. Ours is a representative government of limited powers. The rights of every man, woman and child are equally sacred. The rights of life, liberty and property are free from interference by either executive or legislature, except in accordance with laws which the courts have power to enforce. Those who do not vote are represented and have the right to be heard. On questions of taxation, for example, women have the same right that men have to appear before committees and assessors and argue for or against a particular tax or assessment. Any tax is unlawful unless levied in a certain way, and a woman has the same right to invoke the protection of the courts that men have.

Failing in these two attempts to pass the sentry, Mr. Reed tries a third countersign—"We believe in the educating and improving effects of participation in government." To this we answer, What government do you mean, Friend Reed? Is it the government by the mother of the child, by the teacher of the pupil? No, he answers—women have that already. We want political government,

political power. To this we reply—The two governments women have already are the most important. If children are well brought up by the mother, and wisely taught by the teacher, they will do very well without legislation. To take the mother and the teacher away from these most important duties and set them to studying political questions, sharing in political campaigns, seeking for political offices, would be to damage the most important for the sake of a possible minor gain. That would be folly—nay, more, it would be "mischievous madness."

Last year I saw this announcement in the papers:

"Mrs. Gertrude A. Lee to-day became chairman of the Democratic State Committee of Colorado. She says she is a machine politician. According to her view the machine, impregnable and unassailable, alone can assure party success."

The selfish women, the ambitious women, the women to whom politics is a gainful trade, have gone in with vigor. It was a committee of such women in Colorado that wrote President Wilson immediately upon his inauguration that the "organization has rendered sterling service in the battles of Colorado Democracy, its members are entitled to something more than clerkships." In short, the clerkships which they could get by passing civil service examinations on an equality with men were not enough. They wanted their share of the spoils.

In Illinois women politicians defeated one of the ablest, most upright and experienced judges of the state, Judge Puterbaugh, because he was not a suffragist. All history shows that when women are engrossed with public contests and ambitions they become vindictive and implacable. It was women in the amphitheatre that raised the hand for the death of the gladiator. It was a woman that urged Macbeth to slay Duncan. It was a woman that pressed the reluctant Charles to the massacre of St. Bartholomew. It was women who sat around the guillotine in 1792, and who fired the houses of suspects and slew their inmates during the Commune.

There are educated and intelligent women who have no family ties; they have now the same right to go into politics that men have. It is not the ballot for them that is demanded, but for all women of voting age—the wives and mothers of the race who are summoned from their homes into the arena. To this we Home-Rulers object. Against this we will continue our struggle until this intruder who has failed to give the American countersign is driven out by an overwhelming majority.

The American countersign is Home-Rule. According to our view the family is the unit of society. The man has his part to play, the woman hers; each equally important but quite different. It is true that these parts sometimes overlap. But that is exceptional, compared with the condition of the great majority. Every human being has a mother and one only. Her responsibility is for that child. Before she marries she may engage in some business or trade. But that is usually temporary. The progress of civilization has increased the numbers and changed the character, but not the proportion of these temporary occupations. Legislation should adapt itself to the normal unit of the family and not to the exceptions, who after all were in the beginning members of a family.

To sum it up, the suffragist argument is based on exceptional cases and not on normal conditions. Legislation so based is one-sided and wrong on principle.

Militant There, Militant Here

"On the second evening" (of the National Woman Suffrage Convention at Nashville), writes Helen M. Lucas, of Marietta, Ohio, "the speakers were Christabel Pankhurst and Mary Johnston, and the attendance was enormous. A prominent Virginia woman said that it was most interesting to see how admirably Miss Pankhurst adapted her speech to a Southern audience, avoiding anything that could give her hearers a shock. Another woman said Christabel was a most graceful creature, and that, in listening to her speech she could not help wishing that she could see her dance!"

"Avoiding anything which could give her hearers a shock? What things advocated by her would give them a shock? Nor Taxpaying Leagues, burning churches, destroying mails? They surely knew all about those things before they showed her so much honor. Nothing was said about Mary Johnston's speech. I presume she has never been in jail and is not very distinguished.

"The *Suffragist* gives news from the headquarters of the other National society of two meetings for Christabel Pankhurst and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence and a Sunday tea to welcome Miss Burns home from the California campaign. These women are every one criminals from English prisons, and Miss Burns was fined by a Washington magistrate for defacing the sidewalk of President Wilson. Truly our American Suffragists are traveling the same way with English militants, as Mrs. Catt, president of the International Suffrage Association, said."

How the Saloonkeeper Won from the Women

The Women's Democratic Club of the Second Ward of Chicago advertised in the newspapers for an aldermanic candidate. It was announced that to receive the indorsement of the club the successful applicant would have to be:

A clean, respectable citizen.

A possessor of horse sense, not necessarily a college graduate.

A friend of woman suffrage.

An advocate of subways.

A voter for bathing beaches and playgrounds.

A leader, not a follower.

A man of constructive ability.

Six replies were received. The applicants were a machinist, a broker, a clergyman, a manufacturer, a physician and a saloonkeeper.

The announcement of the lucky candidate awarded the support of the club through the unique competition was soon made. The saloonkeeper won. He is Al Russell, proprietor of a saloon at 3459 South State Street, and he met every requirement. The unsuccessful applicants who answered the women's advertisement were: Ernest Gissler, E. L. Dempsy, F. M. Schlacks, Edward M. Carey and Dr. John Kersher.

Fire Commissioner Robert Adamson has another year or two to serve, but he wants to look out or he will find that the suffrage agitation is a false alarm.

Two pretty Mormon girls, perhaps more, are proselyting in Brooklyn—for female suffrage, of course, as well as Mormonism.

Equal to Man; Even So in Depravity

"Probably the strongest argument in favor of giving women all political rights," says the New York *World*, "and imposing upon them all civic duties is rarely presented. It is in the courts that women, unless exceptionally ill-favored, appear almost invariably in rôles not to be reconciled with ideas of equality and right.

" 'You should not attempt to cover up or shield any man or woman,' said a New York justice the other day in charging a jury before which a young woman was on trial; 'you must lay aside all feeling of chivalry and decide if the plaintiff has proved by a great preponderance of evidence that the defendant is guilty.'

"As between men or as against men no such warning as this is necessary. It is only when women are involved in civil or criminal proceedings that jurymen must be urged with particular force to remember that the law, being no respecter of persons, is also indifferent to sex.

"In fact, it is rare that a woman is held strictly to account. It begins in childhood. Little girls violate city ordinances with impunity, whereas little boys are carried off to court. Judges and jurymen give women the benefit of the doubt in cases which would go terribly against a man.

"Some old-fashioned people would not have it otherwise, but even they cannot shut their eyes to the fact that the new woman is presuming a good deal upon the privileges accorded to her sisters of an earlier generation. The new woman in too many cases is proving that she is man's equal in all respects and even so in depravity.

"Of more importance than votes for women is the question whether as between men and women and society and women, the women themselves as judges and jurors will hold the scales of justice with a truer hand than men are able to do."

Now that the Supreme Court of the United States has decided that the Federal White Slave law applies to women as well as men, it is quite evident that the only way out will be to go in for votes of the kind which one hears about when the yellow banner, the yellow badge and the yellow-covered magazine appear.

Since the doors of the home that the state provides for the Governor and his wife in Albany "are always open" to the members of the Women's Political Union (Militant Suffragists), it is doubtful if they swing in so very often for the Anti-suffragists, especially since they are not militant at all.

It appears that New York Suffragists number 151,668, counting the 100,000 or more who let the various women solicitors put it down on the blank that they were friendly or not opposed, when, as a matter of fact, they were opposed or not friendly.

Hardly anybody seems as sad as Darwin J. Meserole of Brooklyn. He tells us that the rules of the game in business and politics today have made men monsters and have unfitted them for the life of the home and the duties of fatherhood.

Why Quarrel With God?

From a Speech by Hon. Stanley E. Bowdle of Ohio

Mr. Speaker, I rise to voice the position of an unnumbered multitude of good women of America relative to the suffrage movement. A multitude of women whose voices are not heard in the streets; who do not seek the rostrum of political debate; who, though life is not exactly what some of them would have, do not defame their husbands and brothers because they have been unable to declare the kingdom of heaven to be at hand; women who are not ashamed of their sex lot, though it disqualifies them from many functions allowed to men. These I represent. [Applause.]

Mr. Speaker, it is claimed that the interest of women in the affairs of state has grown greatly and that they now ponder deeply matters political. I have not believed the claim. But since coming to Washington I have secured some data upon this subject—and Washington is certainly a most intelligent city, quite aside from its Congressional population. [Laughter.]

It must be evident that the best evidence of a person's interest in a subject is his reading. I determined accordingly to make a series of observations in the street cars of Washington, at an hour when a goodly number are usually coming down to work or to shop. I selected the Mount Pleasant car, coming in over Connecticut Avenue, a line which at its outer end picks up an intelligent middle class, with a few Congressmen without fortune, and which later picks up the wealthier Senators who live in the expensive apartments bearing signs "Servants and tradesmen to the rear." [Laughter and applause.] This miscellaneous collection of intelligence becomes complete at Connecticut Avenue and R Street [laughter], and there I always took the count. My plan was then to count the number of adults in the car, the number of men, and the number of women, and then to count those who were either reading or carrying newspapers.

This is the striking score: Fifty-five to one in favor of the old man as a newspaper reader—almost a shut-out. [Laughter.] Of 99 women, 1 was reading. This does not testify to a magnificent interest in the world's affairs.

But I was not content with this. I accordingly determined to test this matter among a more cosmopolitan crowd. I observed a bright Jewish newsboy at Pennsylvania Avenue and Fourteenth Street, where all classes ebb and flow. I asked this boy to bring to my office at the end of the week a report showing the number of papers sold, morning and evening, with the number sold to women of the total sales. The score stands 2,344 to 71, or 33 to 1, in favor of the old man as a reader of the evening paper in a crowd streaming by in which the sexes were pretty evenly divided.

It is thus evident that women generally are not interested in politics—for which the saints be forever praised—for I do not like to think of the day when papa's purse will be called upon to contribute to two opposing wigwams. One is a plenty. [Laughter.]

Should it be said that eight days' observation of a sex's reading habits is not enough to justify a conclusion, I simply reply in the language of De Quincey, I think, "One need not drink a flagon of

wine to sample a cask," and I think a single day's observations would determine the herbivorous habits of sheep.

Yes, Mr. Speaker, the women of this smart Capital are beautiful; indeed, their beauty is positively disturbing of business, but they are not interested in affairs of state; they are not interested in politics; and, so far as I can judge, they are getting their information on these subjects from the source commended by Saint Paul, for which I do heartily commend them. [Applause.]

Mr. Speaker, a great many men do not comprehend the significance of the anti-suffrage movement among women. They do not understand why women who do not want to vote should impede women who do want to vote. Just a word or two of explanation:

Giving the franchise involves a change of status on all who receive it, whether they exercise it or not. The women who do not vote will inafallibly experience a change of status. Let us see:

To be an elector implies certain things. Electorship, which is simply the power to determine the nature of the civil state, carries with it, or must sooner or later carry with it, the power of administering all affairs of state, including the administering of justice. It must be clear to the Members of This House that the power to determine the legal nature of the state must imply the power to assume and administer any office in the gift of the State. It would be a disturbing thing to have electors with power to erect institutions which they could not administer.

Necessarily, therefore, this proposed extension of the franchise involves finally a movement which will subject all human rights to feminine decision; and the women of America who are opposing this movement are opposed to this change of their status. Those women have a vested interest in this question. They ask the men of this Nation not to foreclose that interest without a vote from them. The Anti-suffragists are the Jeffersonian Democrats on this question. And this is precisely what those women will not get if the Suffragists have their way.

Who knows, maybe we shall live to see a "Mrs." at the other end of Pennsylvania Avenue as President of the United States. Who know, a "Mr." may hook up and unhook the gowns of the Nation's Chief. [Applause.]

But, Mr. Speaker, one thing I do know: There will be no change while the world lasts to the little phrase, "The man behind the gun." [Applause.] Should the Prince of Peace defer his glorious promised advent for a thousand years the intelligence behind the gun will be masculine and the ragged corpse in the ditches of this world's wars will be a masculine corpse. There he is, Mr. Speaker, the masculine man who has carried the ensign of liberty from Thermopylae to Yorktown, staggering slowly on toward a rational ideal which would lend some meaning to human life and history. [Applause.]

Oh, yes; I know women have played a great and noble part in this world's history; but it is a notable fact that this noble part was played without the ballot and some time before the movement came which last year destroyed $5,000,000 of London property created by men. The women who played that noble part did not have to be watched by the Scotland Yard detective force; they did not leave bombs in St. Paul's; they did not burn the Edinburgh collection of scientific marine instruments, working an irreparable loss to science created by men only,

and which marks streets and lanes in the high seas. No, Mr. Speaker, the women whose names grace the pages of history admired men and bowed to the scientific and political genius which he has slowly evolved and ever used to make of this planet a place of residence for wholesome life.

I was saying a moment ago that the women who are opposed to suffrage oppose it because of the necessary change of status that will ensue to them. It ought to be apparent to any man that the power to create institutions implies the power to manage them. Now women do not wish their rights to be passed upon by women. Women uniformly prefer men judges and men jurors. What women in a criminal case would take a woman jury? They know the leniency of men. What leading suffragette in a breach-of-promise case would ask for a woman jury? Why, men are almost silly in their kindness to women who come before them for justice.

Why, such is that kindness that the records of this country for the past two years will show that the women charged murder in the first degree have gone scot-free in numerous cases in which men have been hanged. So general is this spirit of consideration that the criminal laws are almost suspended in our large cities in cases involving women when any sort of a defense is made.

If there is anything on the bargain counter of justice which women are denied, I should like to have the article pointed out. Speaking from an experience of 22 years at the bar, I would not undertake a civil case against a woman for a man unless the case rested on documentary evidence. [Applause.]

Mr. Speaker, the functions of women are of a character that disqualifies them from acting as jurors or judges. If I were to defend a man on a capital charge and a woman were to offer herself as a juror, there are some very intimate questions that I should insist on putting to her. And that man or woman does not live who would submit his or her personal or property rights to a judge or juror who was with child. Her condition at such a time rendered her peculiarly sacred under Roman law and under our law.

It is this great distinctive function which is at the basis of that consideration which men instinctively show to women in so many ways, even to the point of suspending the criminal laws in their favor.

There are a thousand duties to which you can not summon women who are rearing children. And every vigorous woman, even though unmarried, may be invited into that legal relation which brings those powers into play.

Man's powers in this particular do not summon him from those external duties on which the State is founded. Is he a young man serving the state, his marriage will simply strengthen his relations with his job, for he will need his salary twice as much as formerly, for he must needs support two, and presently three, and shortly four.

If he is a young man, unmarried, serving his employer, his marriage will stimulate his loyalty to that employer, for he needs him twice as much as formerly. The young woman at marriage leaves her employer, and rightly. She has other duties. This fact, by the way, is one of the chief causes of lower wages to women than to men for like work. The man's service is regarded as the more permanent. It is less subject to termination by natural events or the illness that

attends women's functions. While I have no sort of sympathy with low wages for anybody, yet this difference in wage is based upon a natural instinct which must be reckoned with. The man starts the family. He brings that together which gives the family its start—the food, the clothing, the shelter—and he represents the necessary sex initiative which sustains the life of the family. He is the positive agent. He must deliberately do. He must desire.

Women have a great function. Her functions are not man's functions. Men and women are different. They are different in every atom. Right here is where woman set up a grouch. Many women resent the limitations of sex. But why quarrel with God, when he has the final word? I might as well weep because I can not gestate a child.

But, Mr. Speaker, I was saying that we instinctively give more to a young man than to a young woman because we recognize him as the prime mover in the creation of life and the family. Some men object to that word "instinct" as unworthily applied to the human, but no student of the operations of the human mind on this floor will object to it. Falstaff had it right:

Instinct is a great matter.

I observed a suffragette a few evenings ago tipping a waitress, who had served her and a friend a meal, and I saw that she gave her less than half what she had given a waiter the evening before. I quickly—and she thought rudely—called her attention to this fact as an exemplification of instinct working out unconsciously in human conduct. The instinct and its meaning proved quite shocking to her. [Laughter.]

The family idea, this life idea, is far more ruling in matters of conduct than we suppose. Mankind, like all created things, instinctively looks toward life and toward its preservation. We bravely deny any identity with lower animals. We proudly deny this identity though the form of every cell and muscle and nerve and organ identify us with all life. I admit this identity, though I devoutly believe in man's divine mission and destiny. The heroism of the men in sacrificing themselves on the decks of the Titanic by placing all the suffragettes in the boats was, indeed, heroism. It was the instinct heroic. But how few will see the same instinct heroically working in a disturbed ant colony, when, getting down on our knees, we see powerful ants, utterly careless of self, straining every nerve and muscle to rescue the eggs and carry them away from some titanic disaster, yet Lubbock and Farel and McCook point this out to us. It is the office of true science to humble us. [Applause.]

This world is not just what each of us would have it. But, Mr. Speaker, blessed is that man who recognizes facts cheerfully. Were I given the remaking of this world, I do not know just what I should do. Ingersoll said he would make it not to rain so hard in the sea; but, coming from Ohio, where we have had terrible floods, I should make it not rain so hard on the land. Of course, the Suffragists would recommend some changes. One said to me that she would make papa bear the children. And this, Mr. Speaker, only bears out the claim that this movement, like the whole modern feminine movement, is a simple expression of sex resentment. Only the other day some sociological person examined the roster of a certain women's club in a Western city, and out of 72 women members, all married and able, not a child had been born within the year.

I would respectfully suggest to the patriotic ladies that when next they meet, instead of denouncing the distinguished Member from New York [Mr. Levy] because of the condition of the back gate of Monticello, they resolve on an investigation of this race-suicide question; that they give some attention to the feminine clothing question and the millinery question.

These ladies should also examine into the menace to our Nation found in the fact that within 10 years a multitude of American women, with great fortunes gathered by American men, have laid them to the extent of hundreds of millions, at the feet of foreign lords and dukes, while American workmen stand by and see their strength and genius go abroad to add to the ease of foreign parasites. American men have not done so. American men of wealth have married American women. [Applause.]

Mr. Speaker, our civilization in form favors the family more than is generally supposed. The vote is really by families. Unmarried men vote, of course, but each is the potential creator of a family; each is the potential creator of life. Marriage is the institution out of which we all have come. The State grew out of it. We must sustain it or perish. The most somber sign of modern times—the sign which gives the most concern—is the assault upon the family by increasing divorce. It is proposed that a further assault shall be made upon it by introducing two political heads, by subjecting its purse to the drain of supporting two antagonistic parties. Will the family survive the attacks being made upon it? Well, I think so. Hegelian philosophy, which I accept, makes me think so, but the present strain upon it is immense.

To the state man is primarily responsible. He must serve it, protect it, and die for it. The state holds him primarily responsible for these duties and a thousand others. He pays the rent when he lives with her and the alimony when he does not. He goes to jail when he fails. Is it allowing him any peculiar privilege to manage the institution wherein that responsibility is to be discharged? The dollar is earned in the state, not in the home. Shall he who is charged with the duty of bringing it home have the state managed by the one who receives it? [Applause.]

Edmund Burke used to say that every law of the British Empire had for its ultimate object the getting of twelve honest men in the jury box. I think he overstated it; for there is something that precedes even the administration of justice—it is marriage. The ultimate object of every law of every civilized country is to get one man in love with one woman. Unless that is the object the Nation must come to an end. Mr. Speaker, a civilization can not be erected that favors celibacy. If it could, the arrangement would be quite temporary. There might be some justice in giving unmarried women the ballot; but every unmarried woman is ready to marry, and she should sacrifice something—if it be a sacrifice—to that institution which all the world hopes she will finally enter. It is best for the unmarried that our laws should favor the married. The unmarried need no special laws. And the unmarried know this, and hence unmarried Suffragettes claim that their special value at the polls and in legislative halls will be to reduce infant mortality. They need not concern themselves. The married will care for the children of this world.

All history, Mr. Speaker, is nothing but the record of an affair with a woman. Happy is that man whose affair is honorable.

I saw smoke curling up from a cottage chimney in a mountain glen. I followed it and entered the house; it was an affair with a woman. I looked into the dimpled face of a babe; it told of an affair with a woman. I saw a myriad of black-grimed men emerge from the mine's mouth with lamps and dinner pails, and they smiled and went each his way, and I wondered why they worked amid such dangers; but I followed and found it was an affair with a woman. I was in the cab of an express locomotive hurling us through darkness toward the city. I wondered at his willingness to endure the dangers, as block signals and switches and cars shot by, but I saw his face for a moment by the steam-gauge light, and he smiled as we approached the division end; and I knew it was simply an affair with a woman. I was with the inventor in an upper room at night, where he had slaved for years on a turbine principle, and I marveled at his constancy; but he showed me her picture, and, Mr. Speaker, it was affair with a woman. And the words of Swedenborg came to me, "Though men know it not, love is the life of this world." [Great applause.]

Women; have they a mission? Yes; it is to rule in the world of love and affection—in the home. It is not to rule in the state. They have a function to perform which precludes the latter sort of rule. Man is king of this universe; woman is queen. The queen rules when the king is dead, or becomes a molly-coddle, and the American man is not that yet. [Applause.]

The great need of America today is more marriage; but many men are afraid to attempt to support the modern woman, and this suffrage question is making women less attractive to men.

Yes; the need is more marriage. America needs a new baptism of the old-time masculinity, and the baptism should be by immersion. We need the old type of feminine woman.

I know that marriage is by the economic condition unduly postponed or prevented altogether, and I deplore this; but I have never yet heard that the way to treat a disease was to make it worse.

Mr. Speaker, many things are to be changed by feminine suffrage. One of them is the "double standard," so called. Mrs. Pankhurst, lately in this city, assured us that this change is the first thing upon the suffrage program. I should like to have her exhibit to me the statute she would pass on this subject. Its wording would be interesting. But pray—and let us be frank—who is it that treats fallen women most harshly? Is it not woman herself? Her bill would have to be entitled "An act to reform women's views of women." And who is it that treats a delinquent man with the most consideration? Is it not a woman?

What would Mrs. Pankhurst do with him? Let this famous lady try to put some legislative stigma upon him (say on his forehead), and the first persons to protest would be the young man's mother and sisters.

I deplore the immoralities of this age. I know how the energies of thousands of young men are dissipated. I would to God that every young man knew the true dignity of pure manhood. I would that every young man had written over the lintels of his heart the seventh chapter of Proverbs as my mother bade me write it.

But this thing is unreachable by law. Self-restraint is not begotten by statute.

And we all weep too much over prostitutes. Reform for them is easy. Any one of them in any American city, desiring to reform, can wash the paint off, clean up, go to the next town, and get honest housework. Laziness and vanity are largely responsible for their chosen vocation. We are too lugubrious anyhow over evil people, lazy people and criminals generally. Our stamina seems to be breaking down in this matter. It would be better were we sadder over the plight of some honest people. My sympathies are with the hard working and honest.

Word has gone forth that nothing unflattering shall be said of women. But if women want to jump into politics they must not be astonished to have their pedestals jarred by an occasional truth. Hold onto your halo, when you enter politics, is a good motto. Women surely can not burn property and assault and insult state ministers without hearing something about themselves.

Having declared man to be a tyrant, they must not get embarrassed when sternly asked to name the day and date when he became so, for our mothers did not regard him so.

Of course women can no more guarantee the millenium than can men. Every woman in Colorado has had the ballot for 18 years, yet prostitution is as common in Denver as in any other American city. Wonderful things are to occur under suffrage, yet only the other night I read again Judge Lindsey's book, the Beast in the Jungle, and to my surprise the beast was the same old beast of special privilege in Denver, and the jungle was in Denver.

They say that "man-made" laws are not just to them. When did woman acquire a well-being separate from man's well-being? When did this race become divided? When the well-being of man is cared for the well-being of woman is assured. Give a young man money and his first expenditure is often in the interests of some woman. The first evidence that dad is getting on is usually seen on mamma's back. Help a man and you have helped a woman. As for man-made laws, I will compare Ohio's laws with the laws of any suffrage state on earth and prove their equality in point of progressive justice.

They say that in some states a man is still able to will away even his children and may confiscate his wife's wages. Mr. Speaker, I have had a long experience at the bar, and I have patiently read the legal journals, but I have never heard of an American man asserting such rights, if he ever had them. I know that in all probate and orphan's courts where I have ever practiced the tenderest consideration has ever been shown for the rights of wives, mothers, and widows. And as for wages, the vast army of American workingmen turn over their pay envelopes to their wives, keping only enough for a little chewing or smoking tobacco. The nations of the world agree that the finest and most generous man on earth in his treatment of woman is the American man, the suffrage leaders to the contrary notwithstanding. They say that the present situation is taxation without representation. The fact is that 99 per cent of the women of wealth received the same either by gift or inheritance from some "tyrannical" dead man,

who labored hard to make it. Men create the property wealth of this world, and it is proper that they should.

Mr. Speaker, there is in America today a forgotten institution known as the "old man." I know him, you know him. Our mothers knew him and honored him, and he honored them. But he is now forgotten and often derided. Suffragists insult him. I looked upon his frozen features as he conquered the Antarctic Zone, while women burned up five millions of his property at home, made by him with back-breaking labor. I have seen his face in the deadly saffron flames of molten metal, where a mismovement meant death. I have been with him in the bowels of steamers and have seen him wipe the scalding sweat from his face as he fed hellish furnaces. I have been with him working on great engines, in work taxing nerves and strength, where a mistake of a thousandth of an inch meant ruin. I have been with him in the grease and slime of repairs to great engineering apparatus. I have gotten up with him in the frosty darkness of the morning to go to the great shops of the cities, while leisure America slept. I have eaten with him his spare breakfasts. I have been with multitudes of him around the forges of the world at noon dining from buckets, yet always cherful. I have seen him pinned beneath locomotives, with his flesh frying on his bones and his hand still gripping the throttles, when his last question was as to the passengers and his last message was to a woman. I have gone in imagination 5,000 feet into the sea and visited the Titanic wreck and have seen 500 of him, cold in death, still in the shaft alleys, engine and boiler rooms, and each dead at his post; and a thousand more I saw, all men, who had nobly offered their lives that women might live I have seen multitudes of him in the lagoons and morasses of virgin countries, shaking with malaria, yet pushing forward the frontiers of life that more life might safely live upon this planet.

I have visited the trenches of battle fields populous with his ragged corpse, unmurmuringly dying for his country. I have seen him strapped upon the plank of the guillotine and stand upon the scaffold "with head bloody but unbowed," offering his life as a witness to his principles. I have seen him upon the calvaries of this world drinking the vinegar of temporary defeat. I have seen him labor with his philosophies without hope of gain, that men might be happier here and—

> better know their end, and the number of their days, and be led to incline their hearts unto wisdom—

And I have seen him work in music, and laboriously chisel in all arts that he might better teach his fellows the divine destiny of the race. Yes; I have seen all this, and you have seen it, Mr. Speaker, and it has convinced me long since of man's divine origin and destiny. Despite the buffetings of sin, the angel in him has overcome the Jacob in him at Jabbok, and I this day believe the inspired account of his creation, when Jehovah, speaking with an unnumbered multitude of the heavenly host, said, "Let us make man in our own image and likeness."

This, Mr. Speaker, is man, "the tyrant." This is the being of whom Miss Shaw said the other day, "All we ask of man is that he stand out of our sunshine."

Time to Fight the Folly of Feminism

"Feminism," writes Mrs. William Forse Scott, "is rampant now, and Suffragists are boasting of alleged successes all along the line. It is time to face the danger. The solid block of suffrage states west of the great river, with one Eastern State added, stares at us from the suffrage map. Four more Senatorial votes are a result of the November elections.

"An appeal must be made to the good judgment and the conscience of the intelligent and moral citizens, who are yet in a large majority. There is no way of staying a movement in which politicians have everything to gain and nothing to lose, except by showing the people that it is no longer only 'a wave of hysteria,' but a wave of hysteria well organized and shrewdly conducted as a demand for 'rights' (i. e., power) made by a comparatively small group of self-interested men and women.

"That suffrage states begin to measure their blunder is shown by open admission of the failure of the experiment. Col. John P. Irish, the famous opponent of Bryan in the Free Silver debates, writes from California:

" 'There is an increasing pressure from non-voting women here, reinforced by thinking men, for an initiative measure cancelling suffrage out of the Constitution. It has been a flat failure, and the capers cut by the women who favored it have disgusted all sensible folk.'

"Let us pause before following further the lead of states which admit their own folly."

Henry Watterson on Feminism's Dangers

"If the equal suffrage movement," writes Henry Watterson in the Louisville *Courier-Journal*, "ended with the franchise for women, no great harm would come of it. Its most unhappy consequence would be the disappointment of those who expect of it results unlikely ever to come to pass. To double a ballot confessedly imperfect would nowise mend, though it would not necessarily hurt it. The real danger lurks behind in what is called Feminism—the Gospel of the New Woman—the Spirit of Unrest—which, declaring war upon a man-made world and a misbegotten system of religion and ethics, proposes to disestablish existing institutions, to abolish love and marriage, to annihilate church and home, and, upon the earthly throne of the God of the Universe, to seat a sexless Messiah, preaching Bedlam's conception of Life and Reason. This is, where it exists, a disease. It is a menace to humankind."

Cannot "Feature" Suffrage and Live

It is evident that one, at least, of the great dailies of New York, which has not yet committed itself wholly to the policy of caring for suffragist subscribers alone, may have been influenced by a statement of Mr. R. H. Waldo. Mr. Waldo is assistant general manager of the New York *Tribune*. He told an audience recently that no publication which depended on the subscriptions of women could "feature" women suffrage and live. He found this out, he said, when during his connection with *Good Housekeeping*, that magazine had attempted to print a serial biography of Mrs. Emiline Pankhurst.

"The letters of protest which piled in upon us forced us to discontinue it. They came in shoals," Mr. Waldo said.

Two other periodicals which have "featured" feminism of late are said to be on the verge of failure.

Calls Upon Bankers to Have Some Sense

Editor THE REPLY:

It occurred to me, on reading in the *Times* the other day a letter of Mr. James L. Laidlaw (in which he appears to have considered a certain *Times* editorial opposed to woman suffrage to be a joke), that this might be the same James L. Laidlaw whom I understand to be at the head of an old-established banking house at 26 Broadway. And it occurred to me that you might be willing to refer to the fact that if this is the same Mr. Laidlaw, and he is ignorant of the very significant circumstance that female suffragism and Socialism are so closely allied that the former cannot get along without the latter, he might well be better informed upon the subject, and might, indeed, thank you for so informing him.

The banker in our community is commonly believed to stand for conservatism and good business and sound sense. He is entrusted with the investment of large amounts of money, and, to his honor be it said, he usually attends to that difficult work painstakingly and successfully. He of all men ought to know that by just as much as the agitation for Socialism succeeds the agitation for female suffragism will succeed; and by just as much as the agitation for female suffragism succeeds Socialism will have a corresponding advantage as a conse quence. If there was ever a time in our public and business affairs when the responsible leaders of finance and business ought to keep their heads and set their hands against these agitations for the various isms which so assist one another that the success of them all might almost be predicated upon the success of one, it is now.

I don't know that you would print this, or that you would expect it to influence Mr. Laidlaw if you did, but so far as I know he is about the only responsible trustee of large capital—supposing that this is the same Mr. Laidlaw, the banker, at 26 Broadway—who upholds this wild Socialistic vagary by which men would lose much and perhaps everything and the state would gain nothing and women nothing, and they might lose much.

20 Broad.

An Anti-suffragist, writing to one of the papers about the short-sighted politician who thinks only of the votes in "votes for women," adjures him to remember, before it is too late, to listen to the voice of the huge majority.

Miss Blackwell attributes the low death rate of the State of Washington to votes for women, not apparently stopping to think of the number of inhabitants who flee the locality when they are about to die.

Miss Lucy Price has been making a canvass among factory girls in New York State to get their views on suffrage. Eighty-five per cent of them declare themselves unwilling to undertake political duties.

Doubtless Bourke Cockran was also amazed at his own moderation when he said that "the municipal housekeeping women's instinct can do ten thousand times better than the trained judgment of men."

The Woman Suffrage Crisis

An Editorial Article from the New York Times

The Legislature of New York State has seen fit to place the question of woman suffrage squarely before the present electorate. Every man of voting age must meet the issue courageously, intelligently, with clear vision. The answer of New York State to this long pending query should be forcible and definite. The proposed amendment to the State Constitution should be voted down by such a majority of the voters as to deprive the advocates of an objectionable and unreasonable derangement of the political and social structure of any further hope of success in this State. The question involved is not new, all the arguments of the suffragists are old and were long ago refuted and sent to limbo. Their ceaseless and noisy agitation has not developed a single new idea. Woman suffrage would result either in a needless political muddle or in a social and political turmoil which would tend to weaken the State, to stir up discord in society and in the home, and would put obstacles in the way of progress which the wisest statesmanship might fail to overcome.

The grant of suffrage to women is repugnant to instincts that strike their roots deep in the order of nature. It runs counter to human reason, it flouts the teachings of experience and the admonitions of common sense. Although women have other capacities without number, held in equal distinction and some in higher honor, they have never possessed or developed the political faculty. Without the counsel and guidance of men no woman ever ruled a State wisely and well. The defect is innate and one for which a cure is both impossible and not to be desired. That they lack the genius for politics is no more to their discredit than man's unhandiness in housewifery and in the care of infants and his small endowment of those finer qualities of charm and tenderness that steal away half of life's sharpness are a reproach to him. There are two human estates, the man's and the woman's. Their boundaries are traced by no imaginary or effaceable lines. Nature has marked them by metes and bounds that no human being ever yet overlooked save with the conscious intent to transgress her laws.

For the intelligent use of the ballot men in their daily callings undergo a ceaseless training. The hand of the law has within its reach every man and every woman, but in their business affairs men are in such immediate touch with controlling authority that they find themselves all the time forced to take thought about the laws that help or hinder them, whether they be good or bad, and in what way they may be bettered. The merchant and the manufacturer, men engaged in the business of banking, insurance, real estate, foreign trade, the lawyer, the doctor, the blacksmith, the farmer, men in all the thousand branches of male affairs, habitually and necessarily form reasoned opinions of the efficiency of government, the virtue of laws, the policies and the promises of parties, the character and the pledges of candidates,

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A reprint of this article can be had in pamphlet from the Man-Suffrage Association, 27 William Street, Room 1823, New York City, N. Y.; price 3 cents each.

and they go to the polls prepared to cast a ballot that will, so far as it may, give effect to their convictions and their desires. Some men, many men, no men, foolishly, vote foolishly, but their motives and their decisions have at least some discoverable relation to the public aspects of the questions at issue. When that relation is not discoverable men have to admit that they vote in a feminine way, for women's reasons, not men's. The voter must help to decide the gravest public questions relating to labor, international disputes, measures of national defense, race problems, public morality, monetary plans, tariffs, and taxation. On such questions men vote according to judgments founded on observation and knowledge acquired in the pursuit of their daily business. Women would inevitably attempt to decide such matters empirically or emotionally.

But, say the suffragists, women as well as men may equip themselves for the intelligent use of the ballot. Individual women may and do, the mass of women will not and cannot, save by spending their lives in the hard school where men learn how to vote. If women are to forsake the home for the counting room, the law office, the wheat fields, and the smithy, then indeed, barring temperamental differences that only the hand of God can efface, they may in time be able to cast a ballot which they can explain and justify by reasons which men can understand. Is it worth while? Let the agitators for woman suffrage answer that one question. Is it worth while to subvert the whole order of human society by putting women to do men's work? Is it worth while to take woman out of the school where she fits herself for her high natural duties to put her under a tuition against which her body and mind and soul would be in perpetual revolt? Of course, the most fanatical advocate of votes for women would never preach a doctrine so monstrous. Yet that is the only way. Either women must work as men work, or they will never be qualified to vote as men vote.

Let there be no mistake as to the import of this argument. It is not in the remotest manner based upon the assumption or the belief that woman is man's inferior, either intellectually or in any other way. It rests upon the established fact that man's work is different from woman's work, and that it is his work and his striving in his own particular field that give man the qualifying knowledge essential to intelligent voting. We are as far as possible from insisting that woman is incapable of acquiring that knowledge, we do insist that she can acquire it only through a radical reorganization of society which would condemn her to do men's tasks, to bear men's burdens. But if the women were to take up man's duties, who is to assume the women's duties? Both are honorable, both bring their rewards, one is as necessary as the other, for both are indispensable to society. And women would be profoundly affected by taking up man's labors, it would inevitably be a roughening process, women would be changed, and not for the better. If there be those who would contend that women must become less womanly, that they should become masculine in thought and feeling and temperament, they will not admit the force of this argument; neither will they openly admit that they would like to see women become more like men. But without that transformation, women cannot qualify for the vote as men

qualify, and there is no other way to acquire the qualification. The effect upon women is one of the consequences most to be dreaded.

No upright and decent man desires to withhold from woman any privileges which will benefit her. The growth of what is vaguely called the feminist movement has already had alarming results. Moral laxities which used to be regarded with abhorrence are too frequently extenuated. The hackneyed cry that "what is right for the man is also right for the woman" is heard continually. It is specious, shameless, unrighteous. Nothing was ever right in a man's conduct which was not moral and consistent with the laws of God and man. There is no good word to say for loose living by either sex. It is the feeblest and wickedest argument for an "increased freedom" for women (the phrase is common property) that some men are immoral. But it is one heard too often, and one, we are constrained to predict, which will be heard more frequently, uttered more vociferously, if the right to vote is extended to women.

At present, in spite of the incessant activities of the advocates of greater license for women, of the iteration of many arguments against the bonds of marriage and the tyranny of the home, there is a strong and wholesome barrier which serves to keep women apart from men in the hurly-burly of life, to insure them courtesies from the opposite sex, to give them many precious privileges. Women already exert a constant and powerful influence in our public affairs. We are firmly convinced that the breaking down of the barrier would bring upon them a burden of new evils, that it would tend to coarsen women, to deprive them of natural rights and privileges without due compensation. That the proposed large extension of the suffrage could in any circumstances act as a triumphant regenerative force in our politics we cannot for a moment admit. The right to vote has been possessed for many years by the women of Wyoming, Colorado, Utah and Idaho, and has been granted more recently to those of Washington, California, Arizona, Kansas, Oregon, Illinois, Montana and Nevada. The moral effect of woman suffrage in those States has been negative. The records are extant.

It has been said too often that "woman suffrage will come in spite of everything." If that is true, every high-minded, responsible man who knows it will bring affliction with it if it does come, must do his best to postpone the evil day. Many men have taken the matter too lightly. With the great increase of women of social distinction and personal charm in the ranks of the suffragists public support of the cause in a polite way has become a sort of agreeable "function," associated with the animated talk of bright women who have found something to talk about. Men of this kind have done much, more than they realize, to encourage and strengthen the movement, to give it form and force. Associating with well-bred, intelligent, and witty women, many of whom have taken up suffrage agitation as a mere pastime, they have not taken pains to look closely enough into the matter to comprehend how deeply rooted in the basic ideals of our civilization are the true objections to turning woman out into the everlasting scrimmage of life, depriving her of the respect and protection she needs in return for a privilege which would surely fail of effect.

If women suffer wrongs, it is the duty of men to right them. If bad laws hamper and afflict them, men should bestir themselves to have those laws repealed. It is the privilege of men to care for the women. Are they prepared to resign that privilege? Let them take note of the social heresies, the dalliance with "advanced" theories, that amaze them in current literature and the pronouncements of certain feminine leaders of thought. If they are convinced that comparatively few of the suffragists they meet are now inclined to extol the husbandless mother, the trial marriage, and the more extravagant vagaries of the seekers for a new freedom, they cannot blind themselves to the obnoxious growth in the last few years of theories of living which no longer shock the women who fancy their sex needs more liberty. The "heelers" and the manipulators of votes will all support woman suffrage. It is worth bearing in mind that the threatened extension of the ballot has no terrors for the practitioners of corrupt politics. The disposition of politicians, not of true statesmen, to adapt themselves quickly to what they regard, often mistakenly, as public sentiment, has led to much of the success of the suffragists thus far; was, in fact, the cause of the recent foolish action of our own Legislature. But it is just as well that the matter should be decided now by all the men of the State. They are facing a grave crisis.

It is hard to say which "stunt" of the suffragettes will prove to be the most popular, the barefoot dancer, the suffrage drum corps beating the defenceless air in the neighborhood of the Franklin statue, or the daring bareback elephant rider. Not any one of them appeals to the editor of THE REPLY very strongly.

Miss Mary Shaw relates a conversation with the editor of a New York paper, in which he said that this (European) war "would probably put an end to this female agitation in this country, as it had in England"; showing how frank the gentleman was on that occasion.

An interested reader asks where it was and when it was that William Dean Howells reminded us that "it is only the women of the upper 'protected' class that are inferior to their men."

Will some correspondent kindly give us this information?

The *American Socialist*, official organ of the party, says:

"The North Dakota Association opposed to woman suffrage has issued a detailed statement declaring that an analysis of the vote on woman suffrage in this state last November showed that the Socialists voted solidly in favor of it. We admit it."

Miss May Garrett Hay is of opinion, in black-face type in Hearst's New York Evening *Journal*, that "so long as there are men judges and men law-makers, only injustice will be meted out to women."

Why the Mormons Have Wanted Suffrage and Have Spread It

The reason why the Mormon Church stands for female suffragism, and has been able to effectuate it in practically all of the suffrage states in addition to the State of Utah, is perfectly clear to the ordinary comprehension; the Mormon Church always intends to "deliver the goods," and it cannot deliver the goods the best without being able to deliver the female vote. There are many related circumstances, giving everywhere the color of truth to this well-founded statement, and recent contributions of Miss Marjorie Dorman and Mrs. Annie Riley Hale, two women whose brilliant contributions to the daily press are always so welcome by lovers of fair play, will easily bear this out.

Miss Dorman points to the fact that the Mormons cheerfully admit the connection between Mormonism and the spread of woman suffrage. She points out that Robert E. Pratt, a Mormon missionary, in a letter dated May 20, 1913, and published in the New York *Times*, said he welcomed the charge that the Mormon Church was the originator of the votes for women idea in this country. Said he: "Utah initiated woman suffrage with her own statehood. . . . We ardently hope to see the idea spread down from our mountain country even to the Eastern as it has already swept to the Western sea."

Ex-Senator Frank J. Cannon is quoted as saying that "politically the Mormons controlled Utah by sheer numbers; by holding the balance of power they had practical control in Idaho and Wyoming; their influence was great in Nevada, Arizona, New Mexico, Colorado, Montana, Washington, California and Oregon." It is significant that every one of these states is a woman suffrage state except New Mexico, Montana and Nevada going for woman suffrage in the recent election.

Miss Mary Shaw says: "If Gentile men voters of the Mormon states are unable to free themselves of the Mormon power, how can the Gentile women be expected to do it—and the Mormon polygamists voting their wives solidly for the Mormon Church?" This last explains in full why woman suffrage has failed. Good women divide, but vice casts a solid vote. What is true of polygamy will prove true of all other forms of white slavery.

Mrs. Hale, though doubtless believing that no corroborative evidence is necessary, nevertheless contributes a little of it, thus:

"Call the roll of the woman suffrage states, and, with the single exception of Kansas, you will find them all tucked snugly under the wing of "the Prophet" —according to Senator Cannon, who should be an irreproachable witness for them, since he is a suffragist. So when studying the suffrage maps marked 'White States' and 'Free States,' don't forget that these should be marked 'Mormon States' also! When Utah obtained statehood in 1896 the Mormon priests, who dominated the constitutional convention which framed the organic law, restored the woman suffrage proviso because they knew it did increase the proportionate Mormon vote! How any one could think otherwise in a system where wives are more numerous than husbands, and 'with Mormon husbands voting their wives solidly," is rather puzzling to any but suffragette arithmetic."

Mrs. Belmont as a Teachers' Strike Leader

It is good to quote Mrs. Belmont now and then, just to show how consistent this lady agitator can be. Mrs. Belmont has a remedy for the teacher-mother trouble. She prescribed it at a meeting held at her house, 477 Madison Avenue, in the interest of Henrietta Rodman.

"Let the teachers form a union," said Mrs. Belmont, "and then if a teacher-mother is obliged to absent herself from her school duties and the School Board will not give its consent, the teachers can go on strike. If the teachers all strike together, the Board of Education will come to terms very quickly. With a union they would also very soon get women teachers on the board, where they ought to be."

They Are Surely Militants and Glory In It

It is true that Christabel Pankhurst is a militant through and through, and that the delegates to the Nashville Convention received her with the utmost enthusiasm. Glorifying the sacrifices of English suffragists and pleading for more aggressive methods in the suffrage campaign in America wildly stirred the conference to shouts and songs and pledges amounting to nearly $2,000 "yearly until the cause is victorious throughout the South, no matter how long that may be." The demonstration of almost frenzied fervor followed Miss Pankhurst's plea that her hearers "stop giving money to churches until suffrage is obtained—give it to our cause."

"Beg for money," she said, "and put joy into your begging until there shall be joy in the giving. Raise your funds in the same way churches and political committees raise money—by begging."

Blaine and the Mormons—and a Quick Lunch

Editor THE REPLY:

It was said, probably at the very opening of the votes for women lunch room in Wall Street, that some one admitted that the purpose of it was to reach the man voter of the Wall Street District "through his stomach." The story could have been told much better; indeed, it was told much better, probably forty years ago, by Hon. James G. Blaine under conditions not wholly dissimilar. Mr. Blaine was Speaker of the House. He visited the Mormon capital, among other places, on a Western trip. The Saints tried to be very hospitable to him. In fact, they seemed so hospitable that the Man from Maine suspected that they wanted something. He was evidently on his guard. For he said to an old-time Gentile friend in Salt Lake City that those Mormons made a great mistake if they thought they were going to influence him "by appealing solely to his alimentary canal." The sponsors for the votes-for-women quick lunch in Wall Street might profit by inquiring whether they were certain to be able to do at this modern day what their allies weren't able to do to the Plumed Knight forty years ago.

AJAX.

Suffragism in California, as is frankly agreed, has had two effects only; one, to strengthen the Socialist party, the other to double the expense of elections.

The theatre managers of Chicago threatened to bar girl ushers, as they are believed to be of no use in fires or panics.

Votes for Women!

Who Leads the Women Astray?

Michael Monaghan, the distinguished and incorrigible anti-feminist of South Norwalk, Conn., has again been talking pretty plain about women, this time to Zoe Beckley in the New York *Mail*.

"I still maintain," he said, "that we are suffering from too much womanism, that it is our national weakness and that it may be we are degenerating from this cause. Certainly it has made us ridiculous to ourselves and a laughing stock to foreign peoples.

"After all, you can't blame the woman so much. Woman has been told by half-baked intellectuals of her own sex that her brain power is equal to man's, that her morality is higher, that she has been too long his slave and the passive mother of his children, and that it is high time she should rule the roost and take a hand in public affairs.

"Magazines and newspapers, cunningly interested for their profit, flatter and cajole the poor thing along the same lines.

"A peculiar species of journalism has been created by women writers—generally silly and mediocre, but on occasions shameless and purient. These ladies are the Rice Powder Squad of the journalistic army.

"Politicians, disgruntled with their party and seeking to rule or ruin, give her similar bad counsel.

"Puritans and fanatics, hoping through her aid to fasten an intolerable system of espionage and moral slavery upon a free people, do more than all the rest to lead her astray.

"Woman cannot seemingly stand the strong wine of publicity. She has become drunken therewith, and her sickness is upon us!"

"If there exists sex hatred," Zoe Beckley "murmured," "can it not be because woman has been forced into industry without proper reward, forced into marriage without recognition of her economic rights and judged by the standards of a silly sisterhood that is fast passing out of existence?"

Mr. Monahan "smiled again his kindly smile, which has in it no rancor toward the sincere, but only disdains woman, "the alleged 'usurper,'" and went on:

"I laugh when I hear women twaddle about their equality to men, all primed and furnished with argument from the Feminist Dope Book.

"Woman always rules, hut or palace, city or kingdom, and observe me, madame, not by virtue of her equality to man, but solely on account of her difference from him.

"Believe me, madame, I am the friend of woman, likewise her slave—for she has always ruled me—but if you will be well advised, you will go slow about this equality business.

"For, by the faith of man, that way lies your defeat, since all your efforts to equalize the sexes do not tend to minimize the little difference.

"Finally, I must insist that nowhere does woman enjoy so much privilege, respect and consideration, owing merely to her sex, as in this country. And nowhere does she exert so much influence in public affairs. But politically woman must act through man.

"The wiping out of their separate realms, which have both physical and spiritual boundaries, and the blending of the sexes in one indistinguishable struggle would be nothing short of disaster to our civilization."

Women Grafters at the Matinee

"I never attend a matinee," writes Miss Annie Nathan Myer to the *Times*, "that I do not recall with great amusement the claim of the suffragists that women will purify politics. Do most people realize the predominance of grafters in a matinee audience made up almost entirely of women? It is a common habit among these audiences to secure, by bribing the usher, a seat more expensive and advantageous than they have paid for at the box office. Recently at the Empire Theatre my neighbor called my attention to two women who had just handed money to an usher and who had moved down to the second row of the balcony. My neighbor confessed she did it herself sometimes, but had not thought of it that day. I endeavored to drive home to her the essential meanness of such stealing, and I hope at least one woman has gained a new sense of personal honor.

"This is a plain, unvarnished statement concerning the women that I see about me; but doubtless it will be but a feeble corrective, and tomorrow and henceforth in the future I shall continue to see the same harangues and prophecies concerning the greater conscientiousness and higher idealism, 'the needed touch in civic life,' of women, etc."

Fairer to Women Than to Themselves

"Women," writes Ed Howe, of Potato Hill, "are gentler than men; they are more patient, but no so fair. (The fairest human is an old man who, begining with good intelligence, has fortified it with experience, education and age.) Women have more prejudices than men: they can not see the truth so quickly.

"If women ruled the world as unquestionably as do the men, I very much doubt that they would be as fair to men as the men are to women. The men have always controlled the courts, the armies, and every other element of strength; yet women have every right they should have. Men have made severe laws punishing themselves for offenses against women, and enforce them. In every case where women are tried before male juries, the women get the best of it. It is almost impossible to convict a woman of a crime which would send a man to the gallows."

By a strange oversight of the lawmakers it was not provided that the newly enfranchised women of Chicago should be permitted to withhold the facts with regard to their various real ages, and Mr. Justice Scully does not come to the rescue. He doesn't believe personally that women should be compelled to give their exact ages, because they would doubtless be encouraged to register more generally if they knew that they didn't have to tell how old they were by telling how young they were; but the law is there and it must be observed. The expectation is that many women will be prevented by this lapse from registering.

"Certain persons," writes Mrs. Harriot Stanton Blatch (daughter of Elizabeth Cady Stanton), "have asked why we conferred with such arch enemies of our movement as Senator Root, Senator Wagner and Mr. Barnes, instead of consulting friendly lawyers. We tried to make it clear that we did not consult Senator Root and others because they were friends or foes, but because they were dominant forces in the polical situation."

Efforts of Feminists; Opinions that Their Methods Are "The Limit"

The leading Feminists of the town have been taking a new and very active interest in the unmarried mother and fatherless child, and meetings have been held in order to decide what to do for the comfort of these unfortunates; and items have crept into the newspapers about these meetings and correspondents of the newspapers have discussed what the Feminists and the Suffragists—for all of the Feminists who have been so solicitous for the unmarried mother and the fatherless child will be found to be Suffragists—have come in for considerable criticism.

In the studio of Isadora Duncan, where the barefoot suffragist dancer is believed to have been exhibited for the first time, "a protest on behalf of motherhood went up," the motherhood being that of Ida Sniffen-Walters-Rogers. But Winifred Harper Cooley rather scoffed at this meeting; sufficiently tangible results were not produced.

Then "The Feminist Alliance and Committee of Married Woman Teachers" proposed to spring to the rescue, apparently of Jeannette V. Ortman, who had been found guilty of "gross misconduct," and had been discharged from the public schools because she did not announce her marriage and had kept her own name. Read the roster of the committee: Mrs. Marion B. Cothren, Mrs. Rheta Childe Dorr, Mrs. Charlotte Perkins Gilman, Mrs. Marie Jenney Howe, Mrs. Alice Duer Miller, Mrs. Nina Willcox Putnam, Mrs. Ogden Mills Reid and Mrs. Norman De R. Whitehouse.

Then came the Twilight Club, to meet for a discussion of the thesis: "What Society ought to do with Mrs. Ida Sniffen Rogers." Here the jury (of nine women) was stated by the New York *Tribune* to be "representative of the varied interests of modern woman." It does not appear that anything was done with her.

James F. Boystun next had a rod in pickle for the *Tribune* for employing Miss Henrietta Rodman, the discharged teacher-feminist. He said:

"A little later on you will probably acknowledge that I am telling you the truth in saying that Henrietta Rodman will do your paper no good, nor will she do the cause of education any good.

"She is a faddist who champions the right of a woman to hold two jobs at once and to draw pay from the city for doing one of them. Progress may change the plumbing in our houses and may change our transit facilities, but there are some things that are eternally true and cannot change. One of those is the spiritual as well as physical needs of a growing child and the consequent duties of motherhood.

"I note that she is starting in to institutionalize childhood after the manner advocated by the Socialists—a little patent process by means of which loving mothers may give the greater part of their time and vitality to the business of earning larger salaries, and then spend a little time now and then in happy visitation with the little darlings as a kind of recreation.

"Are you holding up Henrietta Rodman as a model to American mothers or American teachers, or what? I can tell you that neither of them are going to appreciate the model you propose."

Then came a correspondent of the *Sun*, who indignantly complains about one of the most serious abuses of the day:

"I read your article about the Woman Suffrage party going down to the Franklin statue in a wagon and having a girls' drum corps, composed of scholars of Washington Irving